

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6539

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 2547

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, XH, HU

SUBJ: SOVIET RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE: HUNGARY

REF: STATE 175239

1. WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE THAT CSCE OR ECPC ARE BEING UTILIZED BY HUNGARIAN LEADERSHIP IN ATTEMPT TO GAIN MORE AUTONOMY FROM MOSCOW. JANOS KADAR AND HIS COLLEAGUES IN HUNGARIAN LEADERSHIP ARE WELL AWARE OF OUTER LIMITS OF SOVIET TOLERANCE. ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE FROM TIME TO TIME TESTED THESE LIMITS, THEY HAVE DONE SO WITH CAUTION AND CIRCUMSPECTION.

2. OUTSIDE OF ONE AUTHORITATIVE COMMENTARY BY FERENC VARNAI, ONE OF HUNGARY'S LEADING IDEOLOGISTS, IN NEPSZABADSAG ON JULY 16. THERE HAS BEEN VERY LITTLE PRESS COMMENT ON RESULTS OF
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ECPC. VARNAI, INTER ALIA, IN HIS EDITORIAL MADE THE

FOLLOWING COMMENTS: FOLLOWING BERLIN CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES, BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA HAS LAUNCHED A CAMPAIGN TO MAKE PUBLIC OPINION ACCEPT VIEW THAT THERE ARE DIFFICULTIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA ENDEAVORS, ON ONE HAND, TO DEFEND "ENDANGERED AUTONOMY" OF INDIVIDUAL PARTIES AND ON OTHER HAND TO EXAGGERATE DISPUTES AND DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS PRESENTLY EXISTING IN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT SUCH SPECIOUS MISREPRESENTATIONS SERVE PURPOSE OF LOOSENING TIES OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WITH ITS MOST EXPERIENCED AND STRONGEST MEMBER, TO CPSU. IT IS GENERALLY KNOWN THAT COMMUNIST PARTIES HAVE HAD NO CENTER FOR DECADES AND THAT CPSU CC ITSELF ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION HAS DECLARED THAT THERE IS NEITHER A CENTER NOR A LEADING PARTY AND THAT EACH PARTY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS INDEPENDENT AND EQUAL. AT THE PRESENT TIME WHEN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT DOES NOT HAVE A LEADING CENTER, SIGNIFICANCE OF VOLUNTARY COORDINATION TO SUCCESSFULLY RESOLVE TASKS FACING COMMUNIST MOVEMENT PARTICULARLY INCREASES.

3. VARNAI THEN CITES INTERPRETATION OF JANOS KADAR ON PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, OTHER WISE KNOWN AS "SOLIDARITY OF WORKING CLASS", IN FOLLOWING FASHION: "IN OUR OPINION PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM ENCOMPASSES A HARMONY OF NATIONAL IN INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS, SINCE ACHIEVEMENTS OF INDIVIDUAL PARTIES STRENGTHEN OUR INTERNATIONAL GROWTH AND GROWING STRENGTH OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT HELPS INDIVIDUAL PARTIES." IT HAS BEEN REAFFIRMED, VOEWV VARNAI, THAT DESPITE DISPUTES PARTICIPATING PARTIES DO NOT PLACE EMPHASIS ON DIFFERENCES BUT ON FACTORS LINKING THEM TOGETHER. CAPITALISTS TRY TO DRAMATIZE AND EXAGGERATE DEBATES EXISTING IN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AS THOUGH ANY DEPARTURE FROM PREVIOUS PRACTICE CONSTITUTES HERESY. TO BE SURE, HE CONCLUDED, THE HORIZON IS BROADENING AND FATHERNAL PARTIES COMPREHEND ONE ANOTHER'S POSITION MORE CLEARLY AND THE ENDEAVOR TO BETTER ASSERT ACTIVE SOLIDARITY CONSISTENT WITH THE DEMANDS OF THE AGE IS GROWING STRONGER.

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4. HUNGARIANS WELL APPRECIATE STATEMENTS MADE AT ECPC CONCERNING AUTONOMY OF ALL PARTIES AND LACK OF GUIDING CENTER IN SOCIALIST WORLD, SENTIMENTS UNDERSCORED BY KADAR HIMSELF IN HIS BERLIN STATEMENT. THERE IS, HOWEVER, NO NOTICEABLE WEAKENING OF GOH ADHERENCE TO SOVIET POLICY GOALS NOR DO WE EXPECT TO SEE ANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE NEAR FUTURE. HARD REALITIES OF LIFE HERE HAVE NOT

CHANGED AT ALL. SAME NUMBER OF SOVIET TROOPS REMAIN
HERE AND INCREASE IN WORLD RAW MATERIAL PRICES HAS
ADDED TO MOSCOW'S ECONOMIC LEVERAGE. HUNGARIAN LEASERSHIP
REALIZES THAT WHATEVER GREATER AUTONOMY HUNGARY CAN EXPECT
TO DERIVE FROM IMPROVED EAST-WEST RELATIONS IS POSSIBLE
ONLY WITH IMPROVEMENT IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS AND MORE
ENLIGHTENED LEADERSHIP IN KREMLIN ITSELF.
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